

At Awali are the offices and the homes of the European employees of BAPCO, while outside the fence is the Arab camp for the few Bahrainis who prefer to live there rather than in their own towns and villages. Near Awali's eastern gate is the Training School for Bahrainis, where something is done to equip them for higher posts in the company. This is a field of activity which the company is beginning to develop and it is very important that it should succeed.

South of Awali, in the desert around the Jebal ad-Dukhan, is the oil field, the *raison d'être* of BAPCO, an unimpressive area with many little squares of cement decorated with taps and valves and surrounded by low fences, which are the oil wells, while here and there derricks mark the search for more oil which is always in progress.

After the Abadan Refinery the one on Bahrain is the largest in the Middle East and supplies large quantities of refined products to India, Pakistan, East Africa and other countries "East of Suez." During the day it would be difficult to describe the refinery as anything but a large and ugly mass of iron and steel, with the great Cat. Cracker rising above the squat silver tanks. The air is hot and dusty and in the summer the iron-work is so hot that to touch it raises blisters; but in the evening the refinery takes on the appearance of a slightly shapeless but nevertheless well decorated Christmas Tree, covered in lights and set against a background of flares of burning gas which illuminate the sky like a lurid orange back-cloth.

The Sitra anchorage has at all times an appearance of feverish activity, it is being improved so that it will be possible to load ships and tankers round the clock. In order to do this the jetty is being floodlit with great arc lamps.

On low-lying Sitra Island all that can be seen from the sea are the storage tanks, it is only on approaching nearer that the island itself becomes visible. The Tank Farm spreads across the middle of Sitra, and as it expands it threatens to cut the island in two. To the south of the Tank Farm is a large group of buildings from which a crashing sound is continually heard; this is the Drum Plant. Further evidence of this is present in the thousands of newly painted drums that are piled in huge rows near the plant.

The oil industry is directed from the main office in Awali, where from air-conditioned coolness in the summer and air-conditioned warmth in the winter instructions go out to all parts of Bahrain where BAPCO has its installations. Bahrain is well situated for an oil industry. The oil wells are about eight miles from the Refinery, which itself is scarcely more than half that distance from the Pier and Tank Farm, while from Awali it is possible to see on a clear day both the Refinery and the Field. The radio-telephone and the aeroplane used in other Middle Eastern fields have no place in Bahrain where phones and cars are quite sufficient.

Of the 7,749 workers employed by BAPCO at the end of 1951, 4,937 were Bahrainis and 1,035 were British, American and other

464 Europeans. For the latter the company provides many amenities.
382 In the town of Awali there is a cinema, a club and other recreational
511 facilities. There is a Commissary for the supply of foods and goods
466 unobtainable elsewhere in Bahrain; a school for American and European children with qualified teachers and hospitals for the various nationalities employed by BAPCO. A cinema, swimming bath and mosque are also being constructed in the Arab Camp, and a swimming bath and cinema in the Indian and Pakistani camp at Riffa. The company also maintains dispensaries in some of the villages and has built three schools for the Bahrain Government. There is cordial co-operation between the Bahrain Government and BAPCO in all fields of social service and although it may seem strange that an oil company should be encouraged to occupy itself with so many activities not directly connected with the production of oil, yet it is now recognised in the Middle East that it is an obligation of oil companies not only to work for their shareholders but also for the benefit of the people of the country from which they derive their profits.

471 In 1940 a Supplementary Agreement was signed between the Ruler
382 and the Bahrain Petroleum Company in which the latter received an extension to its concession including all lands, shoals, reefs, waters and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Ruler of Bahrain.

315 It is a comparatively rare thing for people visiting Bahrain to see the actual oil which has made the Islands famous, gone are the days when to "strike oil" meant that a huge gusher of oil would leap skywards covering everything about it with what is termed, in the hackneyed phrase of the journalist, "black gold." Today the drilling of a well is normally a tidy process; when oil is struck the drillers have complete control over its flow and quickly cap the well with a "Christmas Tree," the nickname for the mass of taps and valves which are placed over the well head. From the well the oil is piped to the Refinery and then to the storage tanks at Sitra. But in every part of its processing little is seen of the oil except by the workers in the laboratories.

133 The oil industry today is the most important factor in Bahrain's economy and is recognised as such by the Government and the people of the country.

CHAPTER VI

JEWELS OF THE DEEP

228 Pearl diving is probably the oldest industry in Bahrain and has been the reason why an otherwise small and comparatively unproductive group of islands has been the scene of so many bitter wars and has been over-run by so many invading armies. From earliest times Bahrain has been famous for its pearls: in an Assyrian inscription of some 2000 B.C. a parcel of "fish eyes", from Dilmun is believed to be

RESULTS OF THE CENSUS

POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION. The number of people in Bahrain on the night of 3rd March 1950 (12th Jamad-al-Awal, 1369) was 109,650. This represents a growth in the population of about 20,000 since the first census was taken in 1941 (1359). The increase was not evenly distributed; in 1941 about 55% of the population lived in the three towns, Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd and the rest of the inhabitants of Bahrain lived in the villages. The proportion of town and country dwellers has changed, the three towns now contain 61% of the population and the villages contain 39%, (these figures do not include Awali). There are about 90 villages and many small hamlets and settlements in Bahrain. 161

In Manamah the census showed a population of 39,648, an increase of nearly 12,000 (43%) in nine years. The population of Muharraq and Hedd was 25,577, an increase of 4,138 (20%) over the 1941 figure. In the villages, excluding the two Rafaas, there was an increase of only 344.

From records in the Passport Office at the time of the census it appeared that about 6,000 persons, almost all of them males, who normally resided in Bahrain, were absent from the country. It can be assumed that most of these men were working with oil companies and contractors in the neighbouring states. In 1941 very few Bahrain Arabs were working abroad. The proportion of men who are employed outside Bahrain is very high. 464 167

The large increase in the population of Manamah is not due to urbanisation but it is due to immigration. The village communities especially in the Shia villages are very closely knit and insular so the census clerks had no difficulty in ascertaining whether there had been 621 166

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Fairly detailed information was obtained from a cross section of the village population numbering 31,606; this included 16,047 males and 15,554 females. In the total there were 3,960 infants aged, as far as could be ascertained, under 4 years of whom 1947 were males and 2,013 were females, 1,043 men and 115 women were literate. Occupations which were recorded were as follows:-

Cultivators	3,615
Fishermen, boatmen, coral stone cutters	1,178
Shop Keepers and traders living in villages and having shops in the towns	285
Skilled labourers, carpenters, weavers, car drivers	419
Oil Company workmen	1,508
Government employees	86
Religious teachers and readers	135
Imams of mosques	11
School teachers	9
Labourers	1,989
	<u>9,232</u>
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The difference between the total number of males (including infants) and the number of males in classified employment is accounted for by the old men and boys who are either too old or too young to have regular employment.

162 and deaths in Bahrain. In the distribution of sexes males predominated, the census figure showed 58,601 males and 51,049 females. If the number of Bahrain men who are working abroad were included in this figure the proportion [167] of men would be very high. A reason for the heavy preponderance of males is that most of the people who have come to Bahrain to work during recent years did not bring their wives and families with them, this fact is particularly noticeable in the case of Indians, Hassawis, Persians and Omanis. If Indians and Europeans are deducted from the total number of males and 30% of the males are reckoned as being under 15 or over 65 years of age the total local man power available in Bahrain would be about 38,000.

OCCUPATION

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• 464 Details of occupation were difficult to obtain; in most cases the replies to questions were vague, men described themselves as "labourers" which included cultivators oil field workers and labourers employed by contractors [323] and by the Government. A significant point was that nobody described himself as a diver though a few years ago half of the able bodied men in Bahrain would have given their occupation as divers. Now-a-days men dive during the season, in the summer, and have regular employment during the rest of the year. Generally it can be said that the cultivators who work in the gardens are always Shia Baharna and Hassawis, Arabs never work on the land in Bahrain, the village Baharna are also employed as fishermen, weavers, coral cutters and labourers in the oil fields. Few of them willingly take on work which keeps them away from their villages at night. The men of the Arab villages work in the oil fields and at sea. The townsfolk of Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd, who are of mixed nationalities, include merchants, shopkeepers, Government servants, mechanics and oil field workers and labourers.

CONCLUSIONS

161 The most striking fact which has emerged from the second census of Bahrain is that although there has been an increase in the total population of about 20% in nine years yet this increase is confined to Manamah and Muharraq alone, the growth of the population of Manamah being twice as much as in Muharraq. Even if the number of men who are working abroad is taken into consideration the lack of increase in the rural districts discloses an unsatisfactory state of affairs in the villages which was only revealed 165 by the census. During the preliminary registration, which in the case of the villages took about a fortnight, and the night of the census, the census staff recorded 43 deaths in a village population of about 31,500 (the Arab villages were not included in this total). In one small village with a population of 248 persons there were eight deaths in ten days and in every case the deaths were of very young children, yet no epidemic existed.

• 464 There is no unemployment in Bahrain and the cost of living in the villages is no higher than it was a few years ago. There is no reason to suppose that the lack of increase in the rural population is due to economic causes.

744 The people in the towns and in the villages which are near the towns make more use every year of the public health facilities which are provided by the Government. Cleanliness and sanitation have improved and the anti-malaria work which the Government has carried out has done much to reduce malaria, but few women patients come to the hospitals from distant villages, although today almost all the villages are on bus routes. From what information can be obtained, without vital statistics, it would appear that infant mortality rate in the villages is extremely high. It used to be equally high in the towns but conditions in this respect in the towns have much improved.

DIVING INDUSTRY

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There is little to report on this subject. Under present conditions it seems probable that in a few years the diving Nakhudas will find that it is impossible to obtain any recruits for diving in Bahrain. During the season only 12 boats went out to the banks from Bahrain and most of the divers who were engaged were from Persia and the Trucial Coast. So much money can be earned on shore that few men are willing to leave their shore jobs in order to dive during the summer months.

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The tax on imported pearls imposed by the Government of India was in force throughout and after the diving season and this contributed to a large extent to the slackness in the pearl trade. Taking into consideration the small number of boats employed in diving the catch was moderately good and pearl prices were not much lower than in the previous season.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

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(Report by Dr. R. H. B. Snow, M.B.E., Senior Medical Officer)

Summary of the Year

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A change is gradually infiltrating and making itself evident in the scope and policy of medical work which is increasing in every department and subconsciously affecting the life of the Island. Traditions are now being established which the new generation are growing up with, and health ideas which once were revolutionary are now accepted as the normal course of reasonable upbringing.

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The medical department which started in a small way, and expanded slowly is seeing results which are very satisfying but which are taken for granted, although they took years of striving to achieve. From its small beginnings and tiny nucleus of key staff it has now spread out from something rather personal to more of a departmental outlook. This in the course of things is bound to be, but its danger is that lack of co-ordination may develop or that the department may absorb the individual expression. At present there seems to be no signs of this because the various heads of departments meet together continually to exchange ideas and align themselves in a common policy, and also they are readily accessible to the public.

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Lines of expansion have shown themselves everywhere. The surgical work has been given great impetus by the advent of an F.R.C.S. specialist, Mr. R. D. Wilkins.

The operation theatre now runs a staff rota for every 24 hours of the day, made possible by recruiting Sister Ford and Sister Johnson from England. Sister Edwards was appointed to the Nursing Home to replace Sister Millson. The X-Ray department has an English Radiographer in charge, Mr. Havey. The Laboratory has a staff of six technicians. Four new Indian doctors arrived, one lady doctor for the Women's Hospital, and the others, male, were appointed to the Boys' Schools, The Port, and the Hospital. Mr. Burgin replaced Mr. Hanvey as Public Health Inspector, and Mr. Nambiar became the new Anti-Malaria Supervisor. Both hospitals recruited many more Indian trained nurses. The lack of sufficient staff has now been made good and at present meets all needs which recently have been very pressing. It meant also that more specialised apparatus could be installed being safely handled by expert hands. Such things include a more powerful X-Ray plant, a modern anaesthetic apparatus to administer all gases and curare, an electro-cautery unit and an electro-cardiograph.

EDUCATION

Boys Schools

(From the report of Mr. Ahmed Umran, Director of Education).

Schools. Three new village schools, at Sanad, Tubli and Karzakan, were built and presented to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The schools were fully furnished and in each place there was space for a playground near the building. His Highness Shaikh Sulman was present at the opening of the Tubli school and His Excellency Shaikh Abdulla, Minister of Education, attended the openings of the other two schools. The gift of these three buildings was much appreciated by the Government and by the people of the villages for which the schools provided education.

A large new school, on the Muharraq sea front, for small boys, was opened at the beginning of the term, with this school and three new village schools, and some additional class rooms in existing schools, it was possible to increase the total number of boys in the state schools by 610.

The building of these three schools roused immediate demands from other villages for schools to be built in their districts. Some of these requests came from villages within easy walking distance from schools. The desire for schools and sometimes for dispensaries is not always governed by real need; the existence of a school now seems to confer on a village a certain cachet. It was decided by His Highness on his return from England that three more village schools should be built by the Government, at Jidhafs, Asker and Jaw, the last place being the most distant inhabited village on the western coast. Towards the end of the year work was begun on these schools.

The growth of schools in the villages has had some repercussions. In the past the Shia villages provided the tenants and labourers in the date gardens, most of which are owned by Sunni Arabs. Landlords now realise that when the village boys acquire education they will no longer be content to work in the gardens, or as fishermen, as their fathers did before them. There is already a shortage of local labour for the date gardens and little competition to lease them. The town-dwelling landlords therefore do not view with enthusiasm the spread of education in the villages.

Staff. Every year the expansion of education makes it necessary to employ more teachers; those who complete their training in Bahrain are insufficient and have not enough experience to fill all the posts so each term the number of foreign teachers increases. Among most people this is regarded with disfavour, although there is a tendency among some to assume that because a teacher comes from abroad he must necessarily be better than any local product. Again in 1372 more teachers were recruited from neighbouring countries. The Director of Education, with the valuable assistance of the British Council in Beirut, enlisted 22 Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians and he obtained from Cairo 5 Egyptians teachers to fill vacancies made by retirements and to provide staff for larger schools. At the end of the year the number of teachers in the boys schools was as follows :-

Egyptians	..	..	10
Indians	..	..	2
Syrians	..	..	6
Lebanese	..	..	24
Palestinians	..	..	23
Others	..	..	3
Bahrainis	..	..	136
Total	..	..	204

There was a continued improvement in the standard of English in the Secondary School, due principally to its being taught by a British teacher lent to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. This arrangement has proved extremely successful.

1[A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

We are already seeing the satisfactory results of having higher qualified teachers in the Kindergarten and lower sections of the schools, the children who are now coming up to the fourth year are much better grounded and able to advance further than the children in the higher classes. Those in school now will certainly make better teachers than their elders. 872

The needlework on show at the Annual Exhibition was as good as ever, although less time had been given to it especially in the higher classes. Undoubtedly many of the girls have a real aptitude for embroidery and it seems a pity not to develop it to the full. 874

There were nine Primary and one Secondary Schools during 1372¹, with a total of 2272 students. 871

Technical School

(From the report of Mr. Said Tabbara, Headmaster, Technical School). 874

At the beginning of the year there were 66 boys registered as students at the school, 20 in the carpentry section and 46 on the mechanical side, at the end of 1372 (October 1953) the total number of students was 70. In addition to the ordinary students 17 Bapco employees did a special course at the school during the school year.

The school programme was the same as in the previous year and there were no changes in staff. Ahmed Ali Shumali, one of the local teachers who started as a student in the school and did two years in the Cairo Technical School before becoming a teacher, some years ago, was sent to England for a course of instruction in Technical School teaching.

Transportation of students to and from Muharraq was made in the school bus whose body was built by the students last year.

Six students took their final examination in June 1953, five of them were successful. Two of these young men joined the Bahrain Petroleum Company, one joined the P.W.D. and two others are working in the bazaar.

Both health and attendance at school during the year were satisfactory. The usual show of work done by the students was held in the Spring.

There is at present an urgent need for wiremen in Bahrain and this need will increase when the Gas-Electric Scheme develops. Many of the electricians now working in Bahrain are foreigners though some local men have been successfully trained in the State Engineer's department. The Technical School is to be enlarged by the addition of a large new workshop, new plant is on order to replace some of the existing plant and a new branch is to be opened next year for training students as practical electricians. For this purpose one of the senior students now in the school will be sent to England to do a course and a teacher will be engaged from abroad to take charge of the new branch. This development has been planned in conjunction with the State Engineer. 874 464

1 [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. S. Hills, Director of Works)

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For the first time for many years the Department failed to show any increase over the preceding year in its expenditure, or—more important—the volume of work carried out. This was due entirely to the failure to increase the size of the supervising staff commensurate with the obligations of the Department. Despite the lack of any expansion, however, the year's figures indicate the P.W.D. had another very busy and productive year. An average number of 1,350 men were employed daily which shows that the Department was still second only to Bahrain Petroleum Company in being the biggest economic factor in the lives of ordinary people of Bahrain. As previously, P.W.D. carried out far more work than any of the local contractors, and continued to set a standard for local development.

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Weather conditions were exceptionally favourable for the Department's activities. The winter months were unusually mild and there was no severe storm at any time during the year. The summer was good, although there were one or two unpleasantly hot and humid spells in July and August.

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Costs continued to rise, but the increase was not so marked as in the two previous years. Indeed, there was a welcome drop in the prices of various imported stores, but locally produced stores—which form so big an item (about 26 per cent.) in the Department's total costs—became considerably dearer. As the cost of these is almost entirely one of labour and transport, it would not have been surprising if this increase had occurred a year or so ago. There was some small rise in labour costs, caused by increased rates being paid to better-grade tradesmen—the basic rate for coolies and second-grade tradesmen remaining the same. This is really a good thing, as the standardisation of wage rates is surely one of the most lamentable features of the modern trend of development; and a man should be encouraged to expect to be paid according to his ability. As before, the increase in cost was most marked in the smaller works and in maintenance. A feature out of the Department's control, which added to the rise in costs was the quite deplorable shipping situation which developed towards the end of the year. Many ships, carrying stores for Bahrain, failed to discharge their cargos, but overcarried them to Basra where they were transhipped and taken all over the Gulf (and at times as far as Aden) before they were eventually off loaded at Bahrain. Many works were delayed in consequence, with an inevitable rise in costs.

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This question of costs is closely linked with labour and supervision. Labour troubles were rather less than in the last year or two. In the early months of the year, the strength of carpenters, which had fallen so low at the end of 1371, was again built up; and maintained throughout the year. The most serious shortage, in the year under review, was in good decorators. The standard of painting throughout Bahrain is very poor indeed. The local idea is to apply paint as thickly as possible, but never to worry about first preparing the work, and still less if much of the paint goes on the floor, window glass, or nearby furniture or fittings. P.W.D.'s annual commitment for decorating is now so large that the poor standard of performance is becoming a serious matter; and as far as new work is concerned, the better standard of construction now being achieved is all too often spoilt by the indifferent standard of finish. There can only be one answer—constant and exacting supervising, and the Department was not, this year, in a position to give this.

Although the labour strength was just maintained at a level adequate to meet commitments, yet the position was always delicate, because of the greatly increased amount of work being done by local contractors, who were only too ready to lure away good P.W.D. men by paying higher wage rates.

During the year, one man, Mohamed Bussager, foreman fitter, went to England for six months, under the auspices of the British Council. He greatly benefitted by his visit. It is hoped that more men may be sent on similar courses during the next few years.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN

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An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs.
 In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

THE JEWS

A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

641 did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are
 471 engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other
 563 business establishment. In the last few years the government has been re-
 fusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may
 legally qualify.¹²

162 The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense
 563 in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities
 648 in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent
 through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the
 country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-
 General of India.

563 The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community.
 511 Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest —
 463 and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the
 oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign
 business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen,
 cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

464 Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in
 563 such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other
 nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men
 with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these
 positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it
 was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore,
 India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways.
 Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled
 labor from other countries.

563 The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social
 578 zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and
 accepted only as subordinates by Westerners, with whom they would like
 to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true
 especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and
 economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which
 is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks
 down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-
 collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond
 its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business
 establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by
 them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

¹² *Census 1950*, p. 6.

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the course of development in Bahrain leaves no doubt that they will gradually be resolved. Bahrainis are receiving education at an increasing rate and are now gradually replacing these two foreign elements in clerical and intermediate positions. There will come a time when foreign labor is no longer needed. All foreign establishments in Bahrain, in response to local pressure, are now replacing foreign employees with Bahrainis, even if at the cost of some efficiency.

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Once the clerical and professional group becomes expendable, the major source of resentment will have been removed. Even if some Indians remain, the native Bahrainis will be able to compete with them on equal terms. In the case of the Persians, until the political issues primarily between the British and the Iranian governments concerning sovereignty over Bahrain are clarified, their position will stay the same.

What of the Westerners? It is my belief that the crisis is yet to come. Despite considerable talk, especially among the literate segment of the population, about exploitation, imperialism, and privileges, the Westerners' higher social status is accepted. The native population has been used for generations to think of them as a group with a special status over and above its own, and it will take some time before a mental reorientation is completed. In the second place, the native people fully realize that they need them. They may want to hate the foreign doctor but they need his medical skill; they may detest the oil company, but it supplies them with necessary royalties. The time, however, is drawing near when the problem will have to be faced. Negative nationalism and other political forces such as Communism (which at present has little influence in the Gulf) may force the issue prematurely if favorable circumstances arise.

BAHRAIN MZ2
QATAR MK3

B 132

ARABIA

178 so much that was orderly and progressive had been done already. In the days of Shaikh Hamad (1923-42) conditions in the pearl industry had been reformed, and municipalities, education, and other public services had been developed. These are now being further expanded. The state provides free medical services for all its people and free education in primary and secondary schools and in a technical school; in 1953 there were 4,700 boys and 2,300 girls at school, at a budget cost of 2½ million rupees per annum.

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178 Socially, the impact of good employment in the oil company has been more widespread in Bahrain than in Kuwait, firstly because of the much longer period during which the company has been operating and secondly because its policy, unlike that of the Kuwait Oil Company, is to transport its local workers daily from homes in neighbouring towns instead of constructing a special township near the oilfield. Both policies present certain advantages; one effect of the former is to integrate the oil company into the daily life of the state. Yet there are so far no Bahrainis in BAPCO's senior administrative grades since all local men of this calibre have so far preferred to find jobs in commerce, with its prospects of a larger and speedier return for effort. As in Kuwait, more and more well-to-do merchants are sending sons abroad for education and it is an open question how these will react to the autocratic rule of a family in years to come.

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436 The unit of currency in Bahrain is the Indian rupee. Imports 439 constituted in 1952 about double the value of exports and re-exports (£14.6 million as against £7.4 million). More than half the latter were to Saudi Arabia, the balance chiefly to Qatar and to Persia with which, despite Persia's shortage of hard currency, there continues to be a considerable volume of barter trade.

QATAR

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131 The Shaikhdom of Qatar comprises the peninsula of that 133 name, lying midway along the western coast of the Persian 361 Gulf. It has an area of about 8,000 square miles with a popula- 312 tion of some 25,000. From a dangerous coast-line the land rises to a low, monotonous plateau. The main water-supplies are from wells. Its only land frontier—that with Saudi Arabia—has never been demarcated.

Q 436 Qatar has been in relations with Great Britain since 1882. 353 An agreement with Britain of 3 November 1916 had provisions 316 similar to those with the other Trucial shaikhs, and included a clause making the grant of pearling concessions and other mono-

600 season. The men go out and dive in this coöperative way for one summer, but they are back again the next year as parts of the old machine. What drives them back? From a distance it looks like insanity, but any one acquainted with the local conditions knows this result is inevitable. The Arabs simply cannot coöperate to that extent. They cannot trust each other even in such an association. In a community where simple business partnership between two men in the bazaar is almost unknown, it is futile to expect a dozen divers to coöperate successfully in an enterprise like diving, where mutual forbearance and mutual confidence would be essential, and where the catch might be good sometimes but quite certainly would be bad at other times. The road out of the diver's present trouble is obvious enough, but it is not a possible road for the Arab as he is constituted at present. No road could be more impossible. A little coöperation would save him from the exactions of dishonest captains and greedy pearl merchants, but of that coöperation the Arab is incapable. So since he is unable to organize his industry for his own benefit, it is organized for him by others for their interest, and it goes without saying that the organizer exploits the men under him to the utmost limit.

- 464 The fundamental difficulty is in the divers themselves.
- 466 The majority of the divers of Bahrein are Persians, or
- 426 belong to that semi-Persian community known as the "Baharina." They are cheated and defrauded by their employers to a degree almost beyond belief. Their economic condition is pitiable. Not so the comparatively small number of divers who come in from the desert. The Bedouins who come and dive are never exploited. A captain who attempted to cheat them would lose his

PEARL DIVERS

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head and he knows it. Therefore these Bedouins, who avoid debt as they would the plague, receive a much better reward for their work than the others. These wild men bow to no authority except that of Allah in Heaven, and are not easy victims. They usually club together and dive in boats by themselves. They keep out of debt, and so have no limitations to their independence. I asked one of them once in a jocose way whether he was sure that the captain was honest in the reports that were submitted as to the prices secured for pearls and the season's proceeds. "Ah," said the diver with the broadest sort of an engaging smile. "What is that you say? Does the captain lie about the price of the pearls he sells for us? No, indeed, he does not lie. He tells the truth. If he should try to cheat us, ha-a." Here the smile extended till it took in his whole face, and he drew the edge of his hand across his own neck in a gesture the meaning of which could not be misunderstood.

The most conspicuous example, however, of divers who are out of debt and therefore out of bondage, is to be found in Katar. Here is a small diving community where practically all of the men are out of debt, and the atmosphere of freedom and equality, good fellowship and comfort is a refreshing contrast to the conditions in Bahrein. The men show real independence and self-respect. These divers can change their employers if the treatment they receive is not satisfactory. They can move to another city to live. In a word, they are free men. Yet the system under which they work is no different from that obtaining in Bahrein. It is the divers who are different. They are Bedouins or descended from Bedouins. They keep out of debt and as a result the system works very well.

132 considerable violence, particularly in June and July and in January and February.

POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

POPULATION

161 At the time of the second census in
464 1950, the population of Bahrain numbered 109,650, with 91,179 Bahrain subjects and 18,471 foreigners. In addition, about 5,000 Bahrain nationals were believed to be working in other countries, chiefly in Saudi Arabia. Among the foreign residents there were 6,934 Iranians, 3,043 Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese, 2,526 Saudi Arabians, 2,466 Omanis and Muscatis, and 2,208 British and other Europeans and Americans.

144 The Bahrainis represent a medley of Arab and Persian peoples, as well as various Negro admixtures, descendants of former slaves from Africa. The Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, are of mixed Arab-Persian origin, while the Arabs derive chiefly from the mainland of Arabia. The population is, almost exclusively Moslem: in 1950, only 4 per cent of the local residents belonged to other religious communities, with 2,348 Christians, 975 Hindus and 293 Jews. Both the Shia and the Sunni sects of Islam are prominent. The Baharna and the Iranians are Shiites, while most of the Arabs are Sunnites, including a small contingent which adheres to the Wahhabi branch of central Arabia. Arabic is the national language. Other tongues are employed by the different racial groups, but most educated Bahrainis and town-dwelling laborers are familiar with English.

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62 The returns of the 1950 census indicated
632 that almost 62 per cent of the people lived in the 3 main towns of Manama, Muharraq and Hidd, and the remainder in some 80 rural villages and settlements. Manama, the seat of government and the largest town, located on the island of Bahrain, had a population of 39,648. Muharraq, the chief town on the adjacent island, numbered ap-

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refinery on the eastern side of the island, opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi Arabia. The refined petroleum products are pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island, and subsequently to a deep-water loading terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bahrainis, as well as some 1,600 British and Americans, are employed in different branches of the industry. Two thirds of the royalties accrue to the Bahrain government, half of which are utilized for capital expenditures designed to raise the standards of living of the people. Reports for 1951 indicate that 68 per cent of the government income was derived from oil revenues, as against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and the concurrent growth in population have stimulated private enterprise and the growth of small factories to supply current needs, particularly as regards building materials. Fishing is an important seasonal occupation of many villagers, and preserved fish, fish oils and other fish products are items of export. Agriculture plays a minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the total land area is under cultivation, and further expansion is restricted by the nature of the terrain, the concentration of water supply in limited areas and a feudalistic system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra Islands, but the supply equals less than one quarter of the local requirements. The government is endeavoring to promote the introduction of other crops, and maintains an experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are shallow, making it necessary for ocean vessels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq, however, have good harbors which accommodate dhows and other shallow-draft vessels. Manama is an active trading center: coastal traffic is more or less continuous, while frequent steamer services are available to the northern Gulf ports and to India and Pakistan.

- 000 and Pakistan. Regular air communications
509 are maintained to Iraq and Arabia, and
the airport on Muharraq Island also serves
international airlines with terminals in
Europe, the Middle East and the Far East.
- 441 Motor roads connect the towns and the vil-
lages on the different islands, and extend
across causeways from Bahrain to Muhar-
raq and Sitra. The local transport facilities
are well developed, and motor bus routes
link most of the population centers.

FOOD AND NUTRITION

- 262 The food habits of the diverse racial
146 groups are varied, but serious undernutri-
404 tion is seldom encountered, except among
the migratory laborers from the mainland
and the Baharna and Arabs in the agri-
cultural and the fishing villages. The islands
439 are dependent upon imports for a large pro-
656 portion of their food supply. The govern-
ment controls certain essential foodstuffs,
as wheat, rice and sugar, and regulates
prices through a system of rationing.

- 262 The diet of the average Bahraini consists
439 of dates, bread, rice and fish, supplemented
by native vegetables in season and limited
amounts of meat and milk. Goats are raised
in many villages, though their milk is usu-
ally scanty and poor in quality. Most of the
meat is imported from Iran, and is corre-
spondingly expensive. An assortment of
fruits and vegetables is generally obtainable
in Manama markets by those who are able
to purchase them.

HOUSING

- 362 Manama is a cosmopolitan town, and the
changes which have come about within the
last two decades are reflected in the con-
struction of increasing numbers of modern-
type dwellings. Muharraq, in contrast, is a
342 distinctly Arab community. Coral blocks,
coral slabs and plaster are the usual building
materials in the older houses, while cement
is used extensively in the newer buildings.
The typical Arab-style homes are built
around inner courts and have utilitarian

136 majority are believed to have been acquired
164 elsewhere. Cases of ancylostomiasis and
schistosomiasis are occasionally observed,
primarily among non-Bahrainis, yet no in-
digenous foci of infection are known to
exist.

DISEASES SPREAD CHIEFLY THROUGH THE RESPIRATORY TRACT

164 Tuberculosis. Tuberculosis is wide-
spread, but little precise information is
available regarding its prevalence in the
local population. The disease is believed to
be extensive in Arabia, particularly among
the Bedouin. In Bahrain, the migration of
workers to and from the mainland, over-
crowding and the generally low standards
515 of personal hygiene are regarded as factors
758 influencing the spread of the infection. The
facilities for diagnosis and treatment are
734 inadequate. The government operates a 13-
758 bed tuberculosis sanatorium and provides
treatment for tuberculous cases in its regu-
lar hospitals and dispensaries. It also sub-
sidizes the transportation of certain cases
to India for treatment, since many individ-
uals do not respond favorably under the
climatic conditions prevailing in Bahrain.
About 220 to 350 cases were under observa-
tion in government institutions annually
from November, 1948, to November, 1950.
164 Pulmonary tuberculosis predominates, but
a high rate of nonpulmonary infections also
is encountered.

Smallpox. Bahrain is especially vulner-
able to the introduction of smallpox from
the neighboring Persian Gulf territories,
Pakistan and India, and outbreaks are re-
corded at frequent intervals. Large-scale
epidemics were reported in 1941-42 and in
1948-50, with sporadic cases in the inter-
vening years. The most recent epidemic
started in December, 1948, in the Hora
section of Manama, and spread in a series
of localized outbreaks, persisting into 1950.
Eighty-six cases were transferred to the
quarantine hospital in 1949, and about one
third of that number the following year.
The percentage of unrecognized infections

Company Policies and Activities

471 In accordance with the conditions of the concession, laid
 464 down by the British Colonial Office, Bapco employed a considerable number of Bahreinis in its undertakings, almost exclusively in the lower grades. The total number of employees in 1948 was 6,078, and of these 4,650 were local employees.

[161] While this was only 4.23 per cent of the total population, then estimated at about 110,000,¹⁸ it was 76.5 per cent of the total employed by the company. The staff was increased in 1951 to 7,749, and of this number 4,937 were Bahrein nationals.¹⁹ This drop in the percentage of native employees, from 76.5 to 64, was not the result of Company policy but was due to the greater demand for workers in the expanded oil-producing areas of the Gulf—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar. Many Bahreinis, finding the wages offered in other areas more attractive, left their home islands, which made it necessary for Bapco to employ more foreigners such as Indians, Pakistanis, Persians and others. This created a peculiar phenomenon: educated and semi-educated Bahreinis sought work abroad, while destitute foreigners flocked to the islands.

471 In addition to direct payments in revenue and indirect payments in terms of wages and purchases of local materials for the
 466 operation of the concession, the Company contributed directly to many social and economic projects aimed at bettering the general conditions; these included housing, electric lighting, water supply, and sanitary facilities. It operated a hospital and clinics, and also subsidized the American Mission Hospital. In the field of education it assisted the Government's technical school for native boys; upon graduation students from that school were employed by the Company, which provided further mechanical training.²⁰ It also cooperated in many agricultural and irrigation projects.²¹

471 However, the impact of the oil industry on the people of
 651 Bahrein came primarily from the utilization of the revenue from the oil. The oil payments were divided into three parts:

¹⁸ Max Steineke and M. P. Yackel estimated the population at about 125,000, "Saudi Arabia and Bahrein," in *World Geography* (Princeton, 1950), 226.

¹⁹ U.N., *Review* 1949-50, 60;—*Summary* 1952-53, 58.

²⁰ The Bapco training program is described by its vice-president, Russel M. Brown, "Schooling in Skills," *Oil Lifestream of Progress*, IV, 6-8, Oct., 1954.

²¹ U. S. Senate, *American Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries*, 288-289.

652 There have also been other implications. The Sheikh, the
 651 Government and the people have become increasingly, in fact
 almost exclusively, dependent on the oil. In 1932 the entire
 government budget was about \$143,600; in 1951 the total gov-
 ernment revenue was \$5,271,000, of which approximately 61
 per cent came from oil and 34.9 per cent from customs duties,²⁴
 which must be considered an indirect result of the oil industry.
 In 1953 the Government revenue was derived 68 per cent from
 oil, 24 per cent from customs duties, and 5 per cent from
 [464] interest on the reserve fund.²⁵ The oil boom also created in-
 458 flationary pressures which caused many Bahreinis to seek em-
 471 ployment in other oil-producing areas in the Gulf. Because of
 178 its central location, the I.P.C. subsidiary, Petroleum Conces-
 sions Ltd., which held concessions in Qatar and on the Trucial
 coast, had made its Gulf headquarters in Bahrein and built
 large offices and houses for its staff. Bahrein had become a
 resort and shopping center for the oil employees, especially
 Americans and Europeans, in Saudi Arabia and Qatar. These
 not only added to the inflationary pressures, but so greatly
 increased the social vices of gambling, drinking, prostitution
 and their concomitants as to cause grave concern to those
 responsible for the health and welfare of the population.²⁶

185 The Bahrein islands are limited in area and in resources; oil,
 652 in a more definitely limited quantity than that of any of the
 other areas in the Gulf, is the only resource supporting the
 Sheikh, the Government and its extended services, and also to
 a considerable degree the people at large. Though perhaps
 originally a little more advanced than some of their neighbors,
 the people of Bahrein, prior to the discovery of oil, had a low
 standard of living and consequently a very low standard of
 governmental and social services. When the pearling industry
 suffered a serious setback as a result of the world depression and
 the development of cultured pearls, Bahrein was in a desperate
 situation. With the arrival of the Bahrein Petroleum Company,

aroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 et passim; "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 77-79, Feb., 1951; Bell, loc. cit.

²⁴ Bahrain Petroleum Company, Limited, *Bahrain 1952* (pages not numbered).

²⁵ Angus Sinclair, "The Resources and Their Potentialities. III, Petroleum and Minerals," in *Middle East Resources Problems and Prospects* (Washington, 1954), 46. The 68 per cent of the revenue directly from oil did not include the one-third which went to the Sheikh.

²⁶ "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 79, 81-83, Feb., 1951; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 et passim.